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THE DATE AND AUTHORSHIP OF HALL'S CHRONICLE

I

The date and authorship of Edward Hall's "Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancaster and York" have been subjects of dispute and controversy ever since the chronicle made its appearance in the middle of the 16th Century. The responsibility for writing and publishing the work was one of the chief points in the long and bitter quarrel of Grafton and Stow; and the problem of dates and editions has given trouble to antiquarians from the distinguished Thomas Hearne, to the recent editor, Charles Whibley, who remarks: "here is a puzzle for the bibliographers hitherto unsolved and perhaps insoluble."

In dealing with a problem that has given so much difficulty, I shall be content to review with some detail the contentions of opposing schools of opinion, gathering together widely scattered comment, and then to present some new evidences of my own gained from a close study of the sources out of which the chronicle was made.

Hall's Chronicle, according to Bishop William Nicolson, was dedicated to Henry VIII in a very flattering epistle."¹ Thomas Hearne writing to Murray on February 9, 1722 $\frac{2}{3}$ asks regarding Nicolson's statement: "Pray, did you ever meet with a copy with such a dedication? 'Tis dedicated to Edward VI in the copies I have seen & the epistle is far from flattering. . . . One would think that Bp. Nicolson had never seen the Book, at least never read it." On March 14, Murray replies that he knows of two editions only of Hall's Chronicle, both dedicated to Edward VI. Two days later Hearne writes: "There are two editions of Halle's Chronicle, one in 1548, and the other in 1550, and both are dedicated to K. Edward the 6. The last page of the first edition has K. Hen. the VIII sitting on a Throne, with his counsel on each side of him, and at the Bottom, 'God save the King,' wch, perhaps, is the reason that makes some, one of wch is Bp. Nicholson, say that it is dedicated to H. VIII. They are both printed by Grafton."²

¹ English Historical Library, Fol. edit. 1696-99, p. 71.

² Hearne's Notes and Collections, Oxford, VIII, pp. 42, 47, 54.

Thomas Tanner, however, in his *Bibliotheca Britannica* 1648 (p. 372.) states that Hall's *Chronicle* was published by Berthelet in 1542, and that it extended "a tempore sc. Henrici IV. ad unionem per connubium Henrici. VII cum Elizabetha filia Edwardi IV." He then adds that Richard Grafton continued to the death of Henry VIII: "continuavit etiam ad mortem Henrici VIII Ric. Graftonus typographus ex Mss. Halli. Lond. MDXLVIII. fol. edit. per Grafton."

Since the time of Hearne and Tanner, bibliographers have been divided in their allegiance to 1542, and to 1548 as the date of the first edition of Hall. Those favoring the early date accept Tanner's explanation why no copy of the 1542 edition has ever been found. He records the fact, citing Fox (p. 1547), that the chronicle was condemned by royal authority in 1555—Fox having said that it excited the anger of Mary because of its pronounced anti-Catholic sentiments. On this evidence Whibley says that the first edition was "so effectively burnt by the order of queen Mary that it exists only in fragments" (*Cambridge History of Literature*, III, 359). As such an effective suppression would have destroyed also the 1548 and 1550 editions printed by Grafton, Tanner's explanation does not seem very sound, especially since many copies of Grafton's editions are extant in the British Museum and other libraries.³ In the Grenville Library of the British Museum, and also in the University Library of Cambridge, are copies which are supposed to contain the fragments to which Whibley refers as belonging to an earlier edition. These two copies bear the date 1548, but differ from other editions of 1548, or 1550, as Herbert, who first referred the Cambridge copy to Berthelet, has explained:—"The introduction and former part of the reign of Henry IV by the initial blooming letters, the same to each, having the ascension represented in it, appears to be of the edition of 1542, differing in that particular from either of the other editions." (*Typographical Antiquities*, II, 526 ff.; so also the Grenville collation, citing Herbert, *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana* I, 297.).

But Herbert and the compiler of the Grenville Catalogue did not know that, as Hazlitt justly remarks, "there are probably a larger number of variations in the copies of this book than in

³ The Library of Congress, Washington, has copies of the 1548 and 1550 editions. The latter was Tanner's own copy, for it bears his signature at the bottom of the first page.

any in the language." Since then W. T. Lowndes has made independent collations and comparisons of existing editions, and subsequently H. Pyne (quoted by Hazlitt) has constructed a table for the purpose of identification from the many copies in his own remarkable collection.⁴ These later bibliographers are all agreed that there were no less than four distinct issues of the 1548 edition, portions being in each case reprinted by Grafton; and that three or four titles differing in wording and spelling were given to the various issues. Again, of the first 250 leaves there were two impressions employing different type, a fact which accounts for the variations in the lettering of Henry IV to which Herbert alludes. (Hazlitt, *Bibliographical Collections*, 1876, I, 486.) Moreover, a comparison of the Herbert and Grenville collations with those of Lowndes and Hazlitt makes it evident that these copies belong to the differing issues by Grafton of the 1548 edition, and have been fictitiously ascribed to Berthelet. (Lowndes, *Bibliographers Manual*, 1859, IV, 983-4.) Therefore the many changes in the 1548 edition, and the varying type do not warrant Herbert's supposition that Hall's *Chronicle* was issued by Berthelet in 1542.

This conclusion of the bibliographers is also substantiated by internal evidences which demonstrate that the first part of Hall's *Chronicle*, extending from the reign of Henry IV to the end of Henry VII, could not have been written until after January 1543. This fact is made plain by an examination of the sources upon which Hall relied when compiling it.

II

Attention cannot too often be called to the fact that Hall is not a first-hand authority for the reigns from Henry IV to the death of Henry VII. In spite of the careful explanations of Pauli, Gairdner, Busch, and other historians, Hall is often cited as an original writer of history that he adopted from predecessors, altho he candidly states that he "compiled and gathered out of diuerse writers, as well forayn as Englishe" his "simple treatise." Unless we hold that Hall wrote the second part on the reign of Henry VIII, an opinion that is hazardous, we may believe that he was in truth not an original writer of history, but rather a collector

⁴Pyne, *List of Eng. Books*, London, 1878; also *Catalogue of Library of Pyne*.

and embellisher of the chronicles of others. Let us first, however, consider the dates of Hall's labors as a compiler of history.

Stow is authority for the statement (Preface to Summary, 1570) that Hall "after certaine yeares spent in the Kings Colledge of Cambridge, was admitted fellow of Grayes Inne at London, where he profited so much in the lawes of the Realme, that he was chose under-sheriffe of ye Citie. *At that time (being stired up by men of Authorities)* he writ with a lustye and florishing stile, the union of the houses of Lancaster and Yorke." As Hall became sheriff in 1536, we may judge that about that date he was urged to write a history. He could not have begun to work up his materials before 1534, because he made large use of Polidore Vergil's first edition of the "*Anglica Historia*" (1534). Since he also employed Grafton's Continuation of John Hardyng's Chronicle, which came out in January, 1543, and since he died in 1547, we may conclude that his devotion to history was confined to the last few years of his life. Moreover, if he took verbatim the text of Grafton's Continuation of 1543, his chronicle could not have been published by Berthelet in 1542; and Grafton's edition of 1548 must have been the first. This view is already corroborated by the praise which a contemporary, John Bale, bestowed, evidently upon Grafton, in the following year 1549, commending him that "brought to lyghte the great worke of Edwarde Halle."⁵ Bale would not have used the phrase "brought to lyghte" if Hall's Chronicle had been accessible in print for six years in a Berthelet edition of 1542. With this preliminary fixing of the date of the first edition at 1548, we may proceed to demonstrate Hall's indebtedness to earlier sources upon which that date depends.

The first part of Hall's Chronicle (Henry IV—Henry VII), as has been intimated, is a compilation and elaboration of divers sources. For the reigns from Henry IV to the death of Edward IV, Hall relied mainly upon Polidore Vergil, but also consulted many minor sources such as Fabyan, and the Brut.⁶ Arriving at Richard III, he adopted bodily Grafton's edition of More (or Morton's) history as it had appeared in the Continuation of Hardyng (1543), making a very few slight verbal changes and additions. For the conclusion of Richard III, and for the reign of Henry VII, Hall resorted again to Vergil, copying still at large from Grafton, who

⁵ Bale's edition of Leland's "Laboryouse Journey." Copinger, Manchester 1895.

⁶ Kingsford, Eng. Hist. Lit. in the 15th Cent. p. 262.

had appended Vergil's narrative to More's unfinished story. There are many coincidences throughout both in language and statement for which Vergil affords no basis. Hall also had Vergil's Latin text before him, for he expanded the translation beyond that of Grafton's Continuation. He also made some additions of his own. Professor G. B. Churchill in his study of the Richard story⁷ has worked out very carefully the relationships between Hall and the Grafton Continuation, noting the important changes and differences. In order, however, that this indebtedness may be specifically established, the following parallel extracts are given, which illustrate Grafton's union of More and Vergil, and Hall's verbatim adoption of it.

GRAFTON CONTINUATION

"Then longed the duke yet moch more to wit what it was. Wher-upon the byshop said: in good faith my lord, as for the late protector, sith he is now king in possession, I purpose not to dispute his title. But for the weale of this realme, wherof his grace hath now the governance and wherof I am myself one poore member, I was about to wish, that to those good habilities wherof he hath already right many, little nedyng my prayse: it might yet pleased Gode for the better store, to haue giuen him some of suche other excellent vertues mete for the rule of a realm, as our lorde hath planted in the parson of your grace. (END OF MORE.) The Duke somewhat marueylyng at his sodaine pauses, as thoughe they were but Panentheses, with a high countenance sayde: my Lorde I euidently perceuye and no lesse note your often breathing, etc. . . ." (VERGIL).

HALL

"Then longed the duke muche more to wete what it was, whereupo the bishop sayd. In good faith my lorde, as for the late procyectoure, sith he is nowe kyng in possession I purpose not to dispute his title, but for ye wealthe of this realme, wherof his grace hath nowe the governaunce and wherof I myself am a poore membre, I was aboute to wishe that to those good abilities wherof he hath already right many, litle neading my praise, yet might it haue pleased God for the better store to haue geuen hym some of suche other excellent vertues mete for the rule of the realme, as our lord hath planted in the person of youre grace, The duke somewhat maruelyng at his sodaine pauses as though they were but parentheses, wyth a high coutenaunce saied: my lorde I euidentlye perceyue & no lesse note your often breathynge."

III

It is thus plain that Hall's Chronicle up to the death of Henry VII is substantially a compilation of other chronicles. But if there is little originality in historical matter, there is much in style. In fact this part of the chronicle differs so widely from the

⁷ Richard III up to Shakespeare, Palaestra X, pp. 173 ff.; 182 ff.

second part in style and treatment that critics have been hard pressed to explain how the author of the first part (Henry IV—Henry VII) could have written the second part (Henry VIII). Whibley suggests that up to the death of Henry VII Hall “accepted the common authorities and translated them with new words and strange images. With the accession of Henry VIII he began a fresh and original work. Henceforth he wrote only of what he saw and thought from day to day.” But Professor G. P. Krapp (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XXXI p. 135-8) has shown the unlikelihood of any such “sudden conversion,” and has advanced the opinion that Henry VIII is the work of Grafton. In the following discussion I shall avail myself of the arguments that Professor Krapp has given for this view, which seems to meet all difficulties, and offer additional evidences of my own.

The differences between the two parts in style and purpose are obvious. Hall loves to embellish his sentences with imposing words of French and Lation origin, frequently employing doublets with wearisome effect. He is fond of using the fashionable rhetorical devices of the age, alliteration, exclamations, questions, and appeals to the reader; and his own additions to the sources are usually confined to literary elaborations, extended speeches, and flowery introductions. He introduces every reign with a grand flourish of imposing sentences, and then proceeds copying the text of his sources but frequently interrupting it with sententious moralizings. For the purpose of clear and effective historical writing, Hall's style is the worst possible. It is as though he had been bent on tricking out the simple prose of others in the most fashionable attire of the time for a visit to the royal court. Ascham, who watched with uneasiness the growing passion for fine writing said in his *Scholemaster* that in Hall's *Chronicle* “moch good matter is quite marde with indenture English” and that it was necessary in order to improve the style to “change strange and inkhorne tearmes into proper and commonlie used wordes; next specially to wede out that that is superflous and idle, not onlie where wordes be vainlie heaped one upon an other, but also where many sentences of one meaning be so clowted up together, as though M. Hall had bene, not writing the storie of England, but varying a sentence in Hitching schole.” This is perhaps as good a criticism as could be made of Hall's affectations. A good example of his embellishments and additions is afforded by comparing his indenture revision of Vergil with Ver-

gil's simple, direct, and unaffected prose,—a passage that is not present in Grafton's Continuation of Hardyng.

VERGIL⁸

"But King Richard, delyuered by this fact from his care and feare, kept the slaughter not long secret, who, within a few days after, permyttyd the rumor of ther death to go abrode, to thintent (as we may well beleve) that after the people understoode no yssue male of King Edward to be now left alyve, they might with better mynde and good will beare and sustayne his government. But when the fame of this notable fowle fact was dispersyd thorough the realme, so great grieve stroke generally to the hartes of all men, that the same subduing all feare, they wept every wher, and when they could wepe no more, they cryed owt Ys ther trewly any man lyving so farre at enmytie with God, with all that ys holy and relygyouse, so utter enemy to man, who wold not have abhorryd the myschief of so fowle a murder?"

HALL⁹

"Kyng Richard by this abominable mischyeft & sclerous act thinking hym self well releuyd bothe of feare and thought, would not haue it kept counsaill but within a few daies caused it to ronne in a common rumor that ye ii chylderen were sodanlie dead, and to this entent as it is to be demyd that now none heyre male beyng a liue of Kynge Edwardes body lawfully begotten ye people would be content with the more paciet hart, & quiet mynd, to obey him & suffer his rule and gouernaunce; but when ye fame of this detestable facte was reueled & devulged through ye hole realme, ther fell generally, such a dolor & inward sorow into the hartes of all the people, that all feare of his crueltie set a syde, they in euery tounne streate, and place openlie wept, and piteously sobbed. And when sorowe was somewhat mitigate, their inwarde grudge could not refrayne but crye out in places publike and also priuate furiously saieng, what creature of all creatures ys so malicious and so obstinate an enemye either to God or to christian religion, or to humayne nature, whiche would not haue abhorred, or at the lest absteyned from so miserable a murther of so execrable a tiranye.

[Hall's added moralizing]

To murther a man is much odious, to kyll a woman, is in manner unnatural, but to slaie and destroye innocent babes, & young enfantes the whole world abhorreth, and the bloud from the earth crieth for vengauce to all mightie God."

⁸ Camden Society translation, p. 188-9.

⁹ Hall's Chronicle, Ellis, London, 1809, p. 379.

Hall's purpose like that of his predecessors, Fabyan, More, and Vergil is to magnify the House of Lancaster. Although he is celebrating the "Union" of the two houses, he is thoroughly Lancastrian in sympathy, and tends to go out of his way to denounce and to moralize over the picture of wickedness displayed by Richard III and the Yorkist following, and to paint in additional black details of his own. His conception of history is that of a lawyer and a scholar trained in Gray's Inn, careful of his attitude toward royal prerogative, yet eager to save the past from the "cancard of oblivion." Unlike Grafton's succeeding account of Henry VIII, Hall displays no interest in the pageants and feasts of the court, or in the life and gossip of the common people of London.

Grafton's Henry VIII is entirely different in style and in aim. His fresh and unaffected prose, full of color and animation, comes as a welcome relief after struggling with the involved and pedantic periods of Hall. His narrative is "about four times as long as the average for the reigns of the earlier kings, and is full of picturesque detail." Whole pages are devoted to minute descriptions of feasts processions and pageants with elaborate notes on food and ornament. More realistic and democratic than Hall's narrative, it sometimes champions the Londoners in their revolts against the encroachments of Wolsey, and also displays an ardent sympathy with the Reformation. But throughout it is a glorification of Henry VIII, who, however much he may twist and turn his course, can never do wrong. Veritably reveling in the gorgeous trappings of his retinue, it is just such a history as a London citizen like Grafton would write, who had risen in favor to the position of printer for the king, and who had been captivated by his richness and splendor. In short, it is not only one of the finest examples of historical writing in the age, but also one of the most authentic and original sources for the history of the period.

These apparent differences in style may be shown by comparing Hall's introduction to Henry IV with Grafton's to Henry VIII.

HALL

What mischief hath insured in realms by intestine deuision, what depopulacion hath ensued in countries by ciuil diencion, what detestable murder hath bene comitted in cities by separate faccions, and what calamities hath ensued in famous regions by domesticall discord and unnatural controversy:

Rome hath felt, Italy can tastife, Fraunce can bere witness, Beame can tell, Scotland may wyte, Denmark can shewe, and especially thys noble realme of Englande can apparauntly delcare and make demonstracion . . . ”

GRAFTON

Now, after the death of this noble Prince, Henry the VIII sonne to Kyng Henry the VII beganne his reign the XXII daye of Aprill, in the yere of our Lorde 1509 and . . . the morowe folowyng beyng Saterdaie, the XXII of the saide monethe, his grace, with the Quene departed from the Tower, through the cite of London, agaynst whose coming the streates where his grace should passe, were hanged with Tapistrie and clothe of Arras. And the greате parte of the southe side of Chepe with Clothe of gold, and some parte of Cornehill also . . . ”

IV

In addition to these differences of style there are many other evidences that point toward Grafton as the author of Henry VIII. The word “Finis” printed at the end of Hall’s ornate eulogy of Henry VII, and not present at the close of preceding reigns, marks the actual end of Hall’s work. Moreover, if his original intention was, as his dedication declares, to tell “the calamities, troubles, and miseries whiche happened and chaunced duryng the tyme of the said contentious discension,” and the “many notable actes, worthy of memorie dooen in the tyme of seven Kynges, which after Kyng Richarde succeeded,” he did not need to write about the eighth king, Henry VIII. That he did not so intend is plain also in the wording of the elaborate title, which shows the scope of the chronicle as he planned it: “Beginning at the tyme of Kyng Henry the Fowerth, the First auctor of this devisiion and so successively *proceedyng to the reign of the high and prudent prince King Henry the Eight*. . . .” In view of Hall’s passion for fine titles, it is certain that he would have made mention of the story of his own sovrein had he written it.

When Hall died in 1547, his collections, and in all probability the manuscript of his chronicle, came into the posession of Grafton. In the address to the reader, which Grafton added to Hall’s dedication, the printer remarks that Hall was not so “painful and studious” in his later years as he had been. He also says that Hall continued to the year 1532, a statement that would tend to prove that Hall must have written part of Henry VIII as well, where the style is radically different from what precedes. Grafton then adds that he “put together” the remainder of the reign with Hall’s notes “without any additions of his own.” Now this

assertion is not true, because, as Gairdner has shown (Lollardy and the Reformation, II, 201-2), statements are included in the reign that must have been written after Hall's death. Professor Krapp conjectures that "when Grafton says that Hall had finished the reign of Henry VIII to 1532, he probably means that Hall had collected materials to that date, but that in his less "painful and studious" years, he had remitted his diligence for the later years of Henry's reign." Moreover, the entire narrative of Henry VIII, as Whibley says, is a "separate and coherent biography." There is no break in style or treatment at the year 1532, and Whibley, accepting Grafton's statement without qualification, praises the printer for being able to continue Hall's work so that no difference is perceptible. But it is evident that the whole of the reign in its present form is the work of a single hand, and there are more substantial proofs that the hand was Grafton's.

In the prefaces of the 1570 and 1572 editions of Grafton's Abridgement of the Chronicles of England, the printer bears witness to his friendship with Hall. "And here I note to all men, that I do reveuerence Hall in hys woorke, hee beeinge dead, as much as I did when hee was alyue, *with whō I was of no small acquaintance*, & I am readye to aduance his praise and commendacion, & readier (if I may saye it without offence) than hee that found faulte with mee."¹⁰ The fault finder was no other than John Stow, who in his Summary of 1570, hinted pointedly that "somebody (without any ingenious and plaine Declaration thereof) hath published but not without mangeling, maister Halles Booke for his owne."¹¹

It might be contended that if Grafton had written Henry VIII, he would have published it under his own name, and not issued it as the work of Hall. Strong evidence of Grafton's authorship is adduced by the very fact that when Stow began to accuse him of mangling Hall, Grafton defended himself with two distinct statements insisting that he did write with his own hand a part of Hall's Chronicle.

¹⁰ Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities*, II, 504-5.

¹¹ Stow's accusations were directed not against Grafton's edition of Hall, but against Grafton's Chronicle of 1568-9 in which Grafton had copied from Hall. In fairness to Grafton, it should be stated that he did not 'mangle' his source any more than Stow mangled sources for his own chronicles. Moreover, much of Hall that Grafton used was, if the theory advanced in this paper is true, his own original work, and no one had a better right than he to do what he wished with his own.

In the same prefaces of 1570 and 1572, answering the charges of his rival, Grafton says: "I haue not made Halles Chronicle myne own chronicle, *although the greatest parte of the same was myne owne chronicle, and written with myne own hand.*" Also in the Catalog of Harleian Mss. 1812, I, 212, no. 367(9), is the description of a draught of Grafton's complaint against John Stow. . . . "Herein Grafton asserts that he composed the greatest parte of Halles Chronicle, *contenting himselfe with the paynes, yealding unto Halle the prayse.* . . . " The greatest part of Hall's Chronicle can be no other than the reign of Henry VIII, which takes up alone over one-third of the entire book. Although Grafton nowhere specifies his exact share in the chronicle, every evidence bears out the truth of his defence. Superficially one might think that had Grafton written such a brilliant history, he would not have treated his offspring with such early disregard. It must be remembered, however, that Grafton's Henry VIII has a superior value to us, because it satisfies our taste for realism and human interest, as well as for unaffected style. In the 16th Century, Hall's reigns with their aristocratic tone and elevated style would have been more highly regarded in contrast to Grafton's plain and, what would have been deemed, rude narrative. If we also take into consideration that Grafton was a burgher, and Hall a gentleman, we may see why Grafton would not be reluctant to append his work to that of his high-born friend, and issue the whole as Hall's Chronicle; and why only the persistent and unjust charges of his bitter rival would suffice to arouse him twenty years later to claim what was due him.

Another objection might be raised. If Grafton could write a history like Henry VIII, why are there no evidences of such genius in his other historical publications? The answer is that there are. Some weight might first be given to the consideration that Grafton's main business was that of a printer, not that of a man of letters, and that he was obliged to hold himself ready at the call of King Henry and King Edward to print their proclamations and official documents, as well as to supply the trade with bibles, prayer books, and chronicles. Under these circumstances he had little time for fine writing of the Hall order, and was compelled to resort in the many editions of his Abridgements and Manuals of history, as well as in his longer Chronicle of 1568,⁹ to compiling and adapting the works already at hand. Wherever his own writing appears, how-

ever, it is, as Professor Krapp remarks, "much more mature than Fabyan and far less pedantic than Hall." Bearing no trace of rhetorical tricks, or inkhorn terms, it is justly called by Hearne a "masculine" style. The earlier example of Grafton's narrative, identical with that in Henry VIII, is found in his Continuation of Hardyng 1543, in which he has already begun to describe the processions of Henry VIII. In order to differentiate these original parts from the rest of the Continuation, it is necessary to refer again to the manner in which Grafton compiled the narrative.

V

From the titles and prefaces of the work, we learn that Grafton planned to continue Hardyng's metrical chronicle "in prose to this our tyme,"—"begynnyng wher John Hardyng left, yt is to saie frome the begynnyng of Edward the fourth *unto this present* thirty & foure yere of our moost redoubted souereign lorde Kyng Hery ye eight." He states frankly that the Continuation is a compilation "gathered oute of the most credible and autetique wryters," "oute of diuerse and soundrie authors of most certaine knowlage & substanciall credit yt in latin or els in our mother toungue haue written of ye affaires of Englande." It has already been shown how Grafton made up this Continuation by welding More to Vergil, and then resorting to Vergil again up to the death of Henry VII. This was as far as Vergil had written, for not until 1555 did he issue a second edition with the reign of Henry VIII in a xxvii book. The only source available then for the reign of Henry VIII was the 1542 edition of Fabyan, which differs from earlier issues by the addition of a bald chronicle from the accession of Henry up to the year 1541, tabulated year by year after the manner of the London Chronicles from which it was probably taken. The noteworthy fact, however, is not that Grafton employed this brief chronicle, but that he almost immediately inserted several descriptive passages of his own, which wholly differ from the rest of the text, and which are couched in precisely the same style as the Henry VIII in Hall, and are written with identical wealth of color and detail. No one who compares the following passages from each, or who reads for himself the elaborate processions in both chronicles, will deny that they are products of the same pen.

GRAFTON'S CONTINUATION pp. 590-4.¹²

And vpon Saturdaie, aboute foure of ye clocke at after noone, the kyng came ridyng through Cornehill in moste honourable wise, before whom roade the said knyghtes of the Bathe, in blew lōg gounes with hoodds upō their shoulders, spreade after the manner of masters of arte, and tassalles of white and blewe silke fastened vpon one of their shouldres. The duke of Buckyngham roade next before the kung, except the mayre of London & certain sergeauntes and herauldes; the whiche duke roade in a long goun of nedle woorke right costly and riche, & bare a litle white staffe of siluer in his hand, in signe and token yt he was high and chief steward of yt feast of coronacion. And the said duke had aboute his necke a broade and flat close chein of a new deuise not before vsed fret wt precious great rubies and other stones of greate value: and ouer the kyng was borne a riche canapie by the foure barones of the foure portes, and there folowed seven foloers, wherof the first was trapped in the armes of saint Edward, the second . . . & the vii in sondry trappors of riche cloth of gold wt costly deuices. . . . And when ye copaignie was thus wt all honoure passed . . . came the quene sittying in a horse litter alone, clothed in a riche mantell of tissue, in her heare, wt a circulet of silke, golde, and perle, aboute her head. But whē her grace was a litle passed the signe of the cardinalls hat in Cornehill, suche a sodein showre there came, & fell wt such force & thicknesse, yt the canapy borne ouer was not sufficient to defend her fro wetyng of her matell & furre of powderd ermines wtin yesame, but yt she was fain to be coueighted under the houell of the drapers stales till ye shower were ouer passed, whiche was not long and then she passed her waie . . . (p. 592). And, after all the forsaid chariottes & gentlewome, came ridyng vpon a bushement ccc. of the garde, ye more parte of theim hauyng bowes & arowes, and the other hawberdes & other weapos, and ye shall vnderstand yt all the side of Cornehill, from saint Mighelles to the Stockes, was hanged wt greined clothe of soundrie colours, as scarlettes, crimosins, sanguines, murries, light & browne, & beuties and violetes, and vpon the otherside, all wt riche tapettes & clothes of golde, of veluet & of silke in moste richest wise, wheron was dooen no litle hurte with the forsaid showre."

HALL¹³

And the morowe folowing . . . his grace, with the quene departed from the Tower, through the cite of London, agaynst whose coming the streates where his grace should passe were hanged with Tapestry and clothe of Arras. And the greate parte, of the Southe side of Chepe, with clothe of gold, and some parte of Cornehill also. And the streates railed and barred, on the one side, from ouer agaynst Grace Church, unto Bredstreate in Chepside, where euery occupacion stode, in their liveries in order, beginnyng with base and meane occupacions, and so assendyng to the worship full craftes, highest and lastly stode the Maior with the alderman. The Goldsmithes stales onto the ende of the Olde Chaunges beeing replenished with Virgins in white, with branches of white Waxe, the priests and clerkes, in rich Copes with Crosses and censers of siluer, with censyng his grace, and the Quene also as they passed. The

¹² Edited by Ellis, Lon. 1812.

¹³ 1550 edition, fol. ii ff. of Henry VIII's reign.

features of his body, his goodly personage, his amiable vysage, princely countenance, with the noble qualities of his royall estate, to euery man knowen nedeth no rehersall, considering that for lacke of cunnyng, I cannot express the giftes of grace and of nature that God hath endowed hym with all yet partly to discriue his apparell, it is to be noted his grace ware in his upperst apparell, a robe of Crimosyn Veluet, furred with Armyns, his jacket or cote of raised gold, the placard embroudered with Diamondes Rubies, Emeraudes, greate pearles, and other riche Stones, a greate Baudericke about his necke of greate Balasses. The trapper of his Horse. Damask gold with a depe purfell of Armyns, his knightes and esquires for his body, in Crimosyn Velvet, and all the gentel men, with other of his chappell, and all his officiers and household servaunts well appareled in scarlet.

Annexed to these descriptions is the remainder of Fabyan as far as the 31st year of the reign where Grafton ends his Continuation with a glowing tribute to the King. This conclusion was written in 1543. From these detailed passages of description, it is clear that by that date Grafton had already described some of the splendors of his king, and the following passages seem to show that he was waiting only for leisure to narrate the entire reign. In the midst of the brilliant accounts, he interrupts himself again and again to complain of the lack of space and time that prevent him from telling all that he wishes. It is as though his memory were overflowing with a riot of color and detail. Only with reluctance does he forego his evident pleasure in describing ceremonies, and return to Fabyan.

(p. 595) "in sundry pageants and goodly deuices, whyche here I wyll ouerpasse, for as much as the day folowyng they ferre exceded; *wherof the declaration wyll aske a long leysoure.*"

(p. 595) "But if I should here reherse the straunge and costly apparell which the fore ryders were clothed in with theyr ryche trapper and other deuyses *I shoulde here make a long tariynge.*"

(p. 600) "after these royall justes, was made a solmpne and sumptuous banket, the order of whiche *I ouerpasse because it would bee too long to reherce.*"

We may conclude, therefore, that from 1543 up to 1548 while Hall was busy compiling and dressing up the reign of Henry VII, Grafton was equally busy writing the history of Henry VIII which he had begun in 1543 only to postpone. Henry VIII died on January 28, 1547, and Edward VI was crowned on February 20th. By this date Hall had nearly completed his part of the chronicle, for before his own death later in the year he had written the title and the aureate dedication not to Henry, but to Edward VI. He did not live, however, to see his chronicle given to the

world. It had to be “brought to lyghte” in the following year, 1548, by his friend, Richard Grafton, who more generously than he realized, “yealded” the undying, if undeserved, honor and “prayse” of posterity to Hall by annexing thereto his own Henry VIII.

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